1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not "of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They "are in our power; in less than half an hour they will "all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up "and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one and "need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will "now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

726
115 This account is faithfully given as I received it from *Duke Holland* himself, and took it down in writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been entrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.

* Indian stockings.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

000 Dr. Leslie A. White for making this grant possible and for his guidance throughout the study. I also want to express my appreciation for the assistance given by the other members of my doctoral committee, Professors David F. Aberle, Richard K. Beardsley, James B. Griffin, and Volney H. Jones. John Witthoft has also read the manuscript and it has benefited from his many corrections and additions. For any shortcomings or errors which this study may contain I assume full responsibility.

● 115 The greater part of the field work was done in Washington County, Oklahoma. I am indebted to many Delawares in this county for valuable information and for their patience and co-operation. I particularly wish to thank Ollie Beaver Anderson, Lenora Dean, Jim Thompson, Reuben Wilson, and Fred Washington. Approximately one month was spent in Anadarko, in southwestern Oklahoma, where Mary Bob was a perceptive and kindly informant. I also wish to thank her granddaughter, Mrs. Charley Caddo, for her excellent interpretation of the Delaware language. Lastly, I wish to thank my wife, Gleny, for her invaluable assistance and constant encouragement both in the field and with the manuscript.

Texas Memorial Museum

[p. iv]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

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[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 194-250, 323-32.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION

IT WAS my privilege and pleasure in the spring of 1930 to record the following data on native medical practices and folk beliefs as dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks With Daylight," a Delaware Indian of Dewey, Oklahoma. Wi·tapanóxwe was retained as an informant for some months in Philadelphia with the aid of funds provided, in part, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Some interesting facts concerning his life, as well as historical data pertaining to the location, migrations, and present status of the Delaware Indians were presented in a preceding volume (Speck, 1931) of this series. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for me to duplicate such information in the present monograph.

The material presented herein is offered not as a complete and exhaustive study of the curing practices and plant lore of the Delaware Indians but as the theories, practices, and beliefs of one practitioner—information for the most part to be regarded as personal property bequeathed to the informant by certain members of his family or revealed to him in dreams. There are, however, incorporated in these notes descriptions of certain observances of a more general nature which represent the common property of the tribe.

To much that has been written giving actual data on the pharmacology of various tribes in North America, the collection of Delaware material presented here will prove a helpful addition. Among the leading studies in this field, mention should be given to that of Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916) on the Tewa, and various others by Mooney (1892), Swanton (1928a, 1928c), Speck (1937b) and Olbrechts (Cherokee MS., 1929) for the Southeast. For the Algonkian-speaking peoples of various tribal and cultural types the quantity of published material is also considerable, permitting ere long some attempt at a comparative summary. In this connection similar data contained in the Menomini studies of Smith (1923), and Bloomfield (1928); the Ojibwa researches of Hoffman (1893), and Densmore (1928); Gilmore's material (1919) from the Misouri River region, not to mention information published by Speck (1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1917), all offer much that is suggestive of the historical background from which such practices and beliefs may be supposed to have developed.

In connection with such studies I have in mind also the collections of unpublished herbal and charm cures obtained from various remnants of Algonkian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard by Dr. Speck (Powhatan MS.), Dr. Hallowell (St. Francis Abenaki MS.), and myself (1928; Gayhead and Mashpee Indian MS.). The material from these various

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

● 115 I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

222
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[184] In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

278 Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

115 The writer has gathered most of his data for the whole series from the Oklahoma bands, with such informants as Chief Charley Elkhair (Kokŭlŭpo'w''e), Julius Fox, or Fouts (Peta'nlhink), Minnie Fox (Wemĕĕle'xkwĕ) his wife, and William Brown; but much valuable information came from Canada where his principal informants were Chief James Wolf ('Tayeno'xwan), Chief Nellis F. Timothy, (Tomapemihi'lat), Isaac Monture (Ka'pyŭ'hŭm), Chief Nellis Monture, Michael Anthony (Na'nkŭma'oxa), and Monroe Pheasant. Of these especial credit is due to Julius Fox and Chief Timothy, both of whom manifested great interest in the work and exerted every effort to make it complete, and to Ernest Spybuck, a Shawnee, whose paintings, carefully made of Delaware ceremonies at the writer's request, form a valuable adjunct to the text.

127 The works of previous writers have been utilized where available, and much has been learned from archeological discoveries in the ancient territory of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman *a'ckas*, and here they eat. 796x [264]

VALUATION OF WAMPUM

For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again. 436 796x

INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY

Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here. 796x

Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks: [115]

"When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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142
291
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302

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi'tapono'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. i]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwulc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

The great recurrent and communal ceremony, the Big House or Gamwing, has been covered in a preceding study.[1] At the time it was recorded, most of the topics prepared and discussed were treated with the understanding that a continuation of inquiry into Delaware religion would contribute supplementary material to our knowledge of the spiritual functionings of this festival. Accordingly the way was left open for an extension of its treatment as occasion arose. It is true in particular, and was so recognized in the version of the ceremony published, that variations in performance and in the obligations enforced upon its participants were understood to exist in accordance with the procedure as conducted under sponsorship of the three different social-ceremonial groups, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf. It has previously been shown that the ceremonial if not the social structure of the Delaware Nation is, in certain respects, founded upon these groupings. I may repeat the important comment that the version of the Big House Ceremony recorded in the volume referred to, was a type-performance of the Turkey group, of which the narrator, Wi·tapano'xwe, was a council member.

An opportunity has since arisen for me to interview, in [115] Oklahoma, Joe Washington, Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe, "Walking in Advance, Leader," the hereditary master of ceremonies of this rite when its celebration falls into the hands of the Wolf group. The occasion of questioning him resulted in substantiation of the details previously recorded and printed concerning the general aspects of the ceremony. But it became clear that in the history of Delaware institutions something has been going on either, *a*, to integrate the religious observances of what were formerly separate local bands of the tribe, having more or less distinct customs, into a national ceremony which through time has retained some

[1] See footnote 1, p. 3.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [2] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[2] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaxpgo'xwe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lowe·s* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

native tribes and peoples in America are no longer distinct or 600
treading in the traditional culture-paths of their forebears—
the lost but venerated *ager antiquus*. We are dealing here
with customs decadent within the last two generations, that
is all. Echoes of rites last performed by the Delawares have
died down but the voices are still living voices. As such they
have been made to repeat the phrases and, as ex-players,
enact the movements of age-old ceremonies. From this cir-
cumstance we all share the feeling that much is lacking, too
much indeed to encourage a hope for light on their origins.
There seems, however, to be no way to make up for the loss.

The dominating personality in this exposition of Delaware 115
religious plays, their Director indeed, has been Wi·tapano'xwe
—I prefer to designate him by his ceremonial name, as
ordained by Algonkian custom in matters of this nature,
rather than by his vulgar name C. J. Webber. So quite
inevitably out of this circumstance has resulted material for
a modest case-study of the mental attitudes of an *individual;*
a Delaware of social prominence stirred by interest in the
sophistries of his inherited traditions and creed. This is
fortunate, for studies of personality in culture are constantly
being emphasized. Wi·tapano'xwe unconsciously sits for his
psychological tintype, adding another Indian character self-
delineation to the series now assembled for analysis by in-
vestigators in this field, the later generations of students
stimulated by the pioneering school of anthropological
thought founded by Franz Boas.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

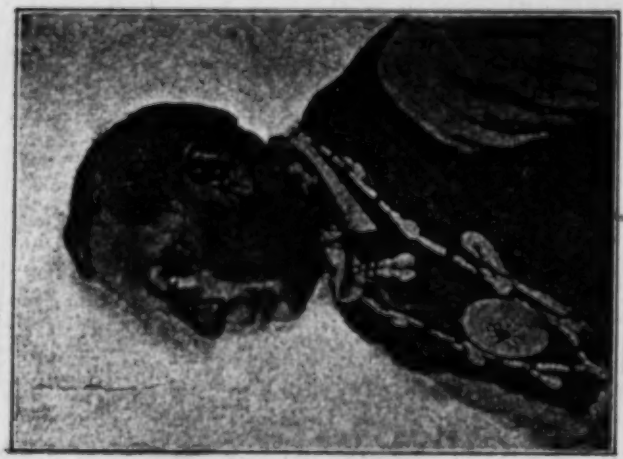
W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

115
142
301



Wilapeto'xwe, "Walking with Daylight." (Photo by W. H. Holden, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delawares.

[facing p. 5]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 174 171 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan, we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them, 796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I 174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre- 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved 124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of 115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions been present. The results of our combined effort during four months of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information, the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts extracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures reproduced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues, are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his profession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and character of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-mannered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving, thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive personal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called Turkey group (pele')[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Cooweescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880, according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive council by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the coming of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed. Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought them into the central plains area producing acculturation in externalities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 75.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 21516.

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an D 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[752(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

● 115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan 2-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[452(c)]

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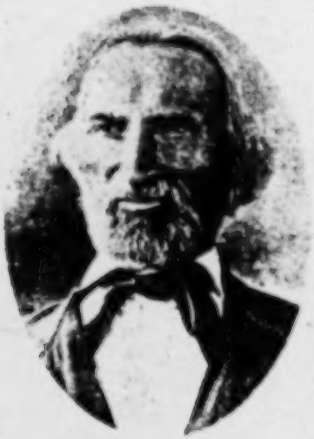

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614 "Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the
[115] Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years
555 old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession
622 fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of
[614] his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the
[611] present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[453(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
● [115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
[#209(c)]

colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1833; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawanoe Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-

[p210]

115 kun-num, 'Light of the Sun'), a Delaware."

000 91. The following data on the religion of the Delaware are taken from Part Five of the Journal.

[pp211 - 233 not processed]